

AMERICAN NEVER WILL TALK AS WILSON

President Teils Autocracy Peace Case The Discussed Basis of Justice

COMPLETE TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS

EXTRA TEUTON TERMS ARE ANALYZED

President Says Nation Has Just Begun Effort to Emancipate Humanity.

MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES TO CONTINUE.

U. S. TO USE WHOLE FORCE

VIEW OF HERTLING AND CZERNIN CONTRASTED.

THE CHANCELLOR SCORED

WILSON SAYS CZERNIN ADMITS ELEMENTS OF PEACE.

Test of Sincerity of Acceptance Protests Hinges on Teutonic Settlement Based on Justice, Territorial Arrangements Satisfactory to People and the Recognition of Well-Defined National Aspirations.

The Indianapolis News Bureau, 33 Wyatt Building.

WASHINGTON, February 11.—President Wilson, appearing unexpectedly before the congress today, replied to the peace speeches by Count von Hertling, the German chancellor, and Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, by reminding the statesmen of the central empires that peace can be discussed only on the basis of permanency and essential justice, and broadly warning the people of the central empires that the participation of the United States in the war for the emancipation of humanity only has begun.

Plainly the President warned the German military autocracy that there was to be no pausing in the mobilization of America's war resources until the war was won by the battle front, and that if peace were to be discussed it would have to be on a basis of sincerity.

Otherwise, the President made it plain there was to be no turning back until military autocracy was crushed by force of arms.

Peace Door Held Open.

The President declared that the United States in this war to stay until the right sort of peace can be obtained and desired to "keep the peace door open." The congress as a whole gave the speech its hearty approval. It was as cordially received as the address of January 8, in which the President set out categorically the terms on which peace can be obtained.

In telling the world again of the purpose of the United States to fight until a just peace can be obtained, the President said:

"I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principles. Our resources are in part mobilized now and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocrats, rulers, whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order, in which justice and peace shall prevail in the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back."

Hope of Austrian Peace.

The congress thought it detected in the address a considerable hope in the mind of the President that Austria may yet decide to enter into a separate peace with this country. Plainly the President, it was pointed out, sought in the address to interest Austria further in a discussion of possible peace terms. Of course if Austria ever should abandon Germany the power of the central group of Europe would be broken, Germany would then be forced to yield sooner or later.

Czernin Sees Principles.

This reference to Count Czernin was regarded as significant.

"Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland made up of all the indisputable Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve and that national aspirations

WASHINGTON, February 11.—President Wilson, in his address to the congress today, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the congress: On the 8th of January I took the honor of addressing you the objects of the war, as our people conceive them. The prime minister of Great Britain has spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To this address the German chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day.

It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply which is directed chiefly to my own address, on the 8th of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone.

Finds Basis for Discussion.

He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them but that they were misinterpreted. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads to no clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the impression that I had formed that we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk.

His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the basis of any settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international council. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined at any rate in this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions which the President has raised should be left to the several governments upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council but severally by

the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood.

He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order.

Limit to Discussion.

He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military autocrats with whom he seems to be strained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments.

That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German emperor, he demands, must be retained without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreement to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman empire to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a separate settlement between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase.

It is an imperative action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We can not have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It can not be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it, because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment of the world, right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs, or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. We would disdain to take

advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlement of the peace suggested are not the best or the most enduring.

They are only her own provisional sketch of principles, and of the way in which they should be applied. But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany, against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization.

She can not see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

Roots of the War.

This war has its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own alliances and their own forms of political life.

Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost.

If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, it has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade.

Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guaranty, but he can not expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as terms of the final settlement. He can not ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace.

Neither, he may rest assured, will sep-

arate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Sees Elements of Peace.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them.

He sees that an independent Poland made up of all the indisputable Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied in his own opinion, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than it touches those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances.

Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less reluctance than could Germany.

He would probably have been further had it not been for the embarrasments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

Principles Are Test.

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims against rival states;

4. That all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be achieved without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objections have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible.

The tragical circumstances is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their deaths to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

Will Not Turn Back.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principles. Our resources are in part mobilized now and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocrats, rulers, whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force.

We believe that our own desire for a new international order, in which justice and peace shall prevail in the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back."

Words Are Not Threat.

I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used to aggress against the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.

RUSSIA DECLARES WAR IS CONCEDED

Head of the Brest-Litovsk Mission Credited With Making Such a Statement.

NO FORMAL PEACE PACT

Demobilization Ordered, Anyway, Official Said—Teutons Threaten the Rumanian Government.

AMSTERDAM, February 11.—Russia has declared the state of war to be at an end and has ordered the demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts, according to a dispatch received here today, dated as sent from Brest-Litovsk on Sunday.

The dispatch follows: "The president of the Russian delegation at today's (Sunday's) sitting stated that while Russia is waiting for signing a formal peace treaty, it declared the state of war to be ended with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, simultaneously giving orders for complete demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts."

While engaging in the daily increasing military activity in Belgium, France and Italy, the central powers are pushing their diplomatic advances in the smaller enemy countries with the view, it is believed, of securing the Bolshevik government of Russia to accept a separate peace.

The new Ukrainian people's republic which, however, the Bolshevik leaders made a peace agreement, the quadruple alliance now holds the threat of military power over Rumania to force a similar pact with that country. On February 8th Marshal Von Mackensen is reported to have given orders to have given the Rumanian government four days in which to enter peace negotiations with Germany. This time limit has expired and the Rumanian chief has resigned as a consequence of the ultimatum. The Germans are reported to have repaired the oil wells in Roumania, giving the Rumanians just previously to the Rumanian retreat.

The new Ukrainian republic, according to a Stockholm report, is said to have granted the central powers full facilities for the development of important mineral lands in return for a large loan and the addition to her territory of a large part of eastern Galicia. On this phase of the agreement, as well as on the general terms of a separate peace between the Ukrainian rada and the quadruple alliance, the Bolshevik government is silent. It has been having received nothing from the Russian capital to explain the Ukrainian situation.

PEACE WITH THE UKRAINE.

Dispatch Tells of Speeches and Terms of Treaty.

AMSTERDAM, February 11.—A dispatch from Brest-Litovsk via Berlin, giving the details of the conference at which the peace treaty between the central powers and the new Ukrainian republic was signed, has been received here.

Dr. Richard von Kuehlmann, German foreign minister, as president, shortly

ABDUL HAMID, FORMER SULTAN OF TURKEY, DEAD

RULED OTTOMAN EMPIRE FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS.

VICTIM OF LUNG DISEASE

AMSTERDAM, February 11.—The death yesterday of Abdul Hamid, former sultan of Turkey, from inflammation of the lungs, is announced in a dispatch received here today from Constantinople by way of Vienna. A state funeral will be held.

Abdul Hamid was for thirty-three years sultan of the Ottoman empire, sprang from the thirty centuries of Europe, Asia and Africa, and at the same time was commander of the faithful, a title which he held until 1909,000 subjects paid him homage.

He lived in constant dread of death, which he escaped only by good luck, or unusual precautions against plots. Yet in his later years he had a melancholy which he never lost.

Born September 21, 1848, the second son of Mahmud II, he died at the age of 69.

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ARTILLERY FIGHTING GAINS IN VIOLENCE

American Gunner and Five Infantrymen Killed in Action in France.

U. S. GENERAL IN CHARGE

Soldiers Put Up Fight When Caught by German Ambush—Italian Guns Continue Activity.

Firing of the big guns all along the western front is growing steadily in intensity. American troops holding a sector of the line have engaged in lively skirmishes.

On both sides of the Meuse and in the Vosges the French and German artillery are fighting a duel, while the French have repulsed repeated attempts of enemy raiders.

Australian troops struck last night at a German position southeast of Messines, inflicting casualties and capturing twenty-eight prisoners.

Sector Quiet No Longer.

The sector in France taken over by the American troops, under the command of an American general, is now the scene of almost constant clashes between the Yankees and the Boches. A few weeks ago this area was one of the most quiet in the whole line.

The frequency of combats and the ever growing list of casualties indicate that the Americans have assumed their full share of the burden in this area. On Saturday an artilleryman was killed by shell fire and five others were wounded.

An American patrol party of fourteen men fought gallantly against a superior force of Germans when ambushed in a close range in which hand grenades and automatics were used instead of rifles.

In Front of Wires.

The spot where the encounter occurred is an isolated spot in the St. Mihiel region, and reports concerning the casualties inflicted by both sides are meager. Only one American is known to have escaped the trap of the Germans, which was laid in front of the American wire. The one survivor, who crawled back to the American lines with a bullet in his chest, is now recovering.

The artillery immediately laid a barrage around the ambushing German positions. The infantry, it is certain, accounted for others.

The American patrol was moving in front of the wire that had been divided into parties which took up concealed positions opened fire at close range. The night was clear and the forms of the Americans made the best possible targets for the Germans.

Cry of "Kamerad!"

The early reports of the encounter in front of the American wire entanglements have been confirmed. The enemy

DOUBT HELD AS TO CHARGES BY BAKER

Some Congressmen Not Convinced New Plan Will Entirely Meet the Situation.

FAULTS ARE ADMITTED

Administration Action Taken as Acknowledgment of Mistakes—Wilson Conferences Deferred.

The Indianapolis News Bureau, 33 Wyatt Building.

WASHINGTON, February 11.—The order of Secretary Baker reorganizing the general staff of the war department by creating five divisions of that body, reveals a purpose on the part of the President and his secretary to put Germany in the line of a revolution. But it does mean the people are tired of war and opposed to the front. At the same time they believe President Wilson is sincere in his

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GERMAN MILITARISTS PLAYING THE LAST HAND

OMINOUS UNREST IN THE CENTRAL EMPIRES.

PEOPLE WISH END TO WAR

(Copyright, 1918, by the United Press)

ZURICH, Switzerland, February 11.—Ominous unrest in Germany is spreading throughout the central empire.

Germany and Austria must have peace or go under. The people of both countries demand it.

If the allies stand pat on the Wilson program and make a stone wall of the western front, the end of the war is in sight.

This sums up the situation, as seen from here, at this time. It doesn't mean that Germany is a revolution, or a revolution. But it does mean the people are tired of war and opposed to the front. At the same time they believe President Wilson is sincere in his

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COMPROMISE TALK HEARD AT ST. LOUIS

Marked by Arrival of Penrose and Others for National Republican Committee Meeting.

NO GLAD HAND FOR BILL

Chicago Mayor Not Warmly Welcomed—George W. Perkins Gives Out Statement.

(From a Staff Correspondent)

ST. LOUIS, February 11.—Compromise talk was heard around the lobby of the Platters hotel today in connection with the meeting of the Republican national committee tomorrow and the election of a Republican national chairman. Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania; John T. King, of Connecticut; and Joseph B. Keary, of New Jersey, arrived in the city and a little later, suggestions of a compromise were floating around. Penrose said he arrived here without a candidate for national chairman. This was taken to mean that King's name was not yet before the committee for consideration, although he has all along been regarded as a candidate with Penrose backing him.

What Penrose Says.

Penrose said he was neither for nor against any candidate for national chairman.

"If we want a man who can bring harmony in the party and bring everybody together," he said, "Penrose is believed to hold the balance of power."

A conference of the national committee set for 10 o'clock was postponed until late in the afternoon. The executive committee went in session to hear a contest from Tennessee over the election of a member of the national committee.

Several suffragists have arrived and they are talking woman suffrage to the committee in a vigorous fashion. Members of the committee met today with George W. Perkins, of New York; Everett Colby, of New Jersey; and Harold L. Ickes, of Chicago, progressive members of the committee, who were served during the last presidential campaign.

The conference was informal being attended not only by committee members, but by many political leaders who are interested in the outcome of the national committee.

None of the members of the committee appeared to know what resolutions would be presented to the committee for adoption except that Ralph Williams, of Oregon, one of the Adams supporters, said there would be a war resolution of some kind.

Among today's arrivals were United States Senator Calder, of New York, who carried the proxy of Herbert Parsons, committee member from that state; Frank H. Hitchcock, a former chairman of the national committee, and T. Coleman DuPont, committee member from Delaware.

"I believe that the President should be supported in bringing the war to a successful conclusion," said Mr. DuPont, "but I believe also a Republican majority in congress would provide the best means of helping him win." He

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POLL CASE HEARING NOW IN THIRD WEEK

Police Records of Arrests Made in the 1914 Campaign Introduced in Federal Court.

NO ANALYSIS IS ATTEMPTED

Probably Will Be Used Extensively in Argument—Three of Accused Men Testify During Morning.

Testimony, which was introduced Saturday afternoon by the defense in the United States district court at the trial of Joseph E. Bell and thirty-two other men, accused of a poll fraud conspiracy in Indianapolis in the campaign of 1914, will be found on Page 13.

Police records of arrests made during the campaign prior to the 1914 general election were introduced in evidence by the defense today in the United States district court at the poll fraud conspiracy trial of Joseph E. Bell, formerly mayor, and thirty-two other Indianapolis men. They are preparatory to an expected attack on the government's testimony of wholesale arrests attending raids that the prosecution contends were intended to intimidate negro voters.

No analysis of the records was offered by defense counsel, but they probably will be used extensively in the testimony of Michael J. Glenn, formerly a city detective, who testified as to a political purpose of the raids when Samuel V. Perrott, chief of police at the time of the campaign, was shot and killed. Glenn's testimony, which was introduced by the defense, shows only thirty-eight arrests throughout the city by all policemen on the dates and in the preceding election, while Glenn's testimony declared that his squad of raiders slayed fifty-eight.

With the testimony during the morning of Joseph E. Bell, a law partner of Michael J. Glenn, a law partner of Michael A. Ryan, has been introduced in number by Mr. Ruckelshaus, who testified that he was a member of the defense, and the testimony of several other witnesses. The defense was approaching the final stretch of its testimony that will end with Bell as a witness. The case now is in the third week.

To Be Fewer Witnesses.

The army of defense witnesses marshaled by John Ruckelshaus, a law partner of Michael A. Ryan, has been introduced in number by Mr. Ruckelshaus, who testified that he was a member of the defense, and the testimony of several other witnesses. The defense was approaching the final stretch of its testimony that will end with Bell as a witness. The case now is in the third week.

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